1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
Greece EH1

winter, but there is neither enough hay nor sufficient steading to attempt this on any considerable scale. Similarly, villagers in the plains may keep some sheep through the summer despite a smothering heat and parched grazing. But the condition of these animals is meagre.

Yet it was the Sarakatsani rather than the people of Zagori who exploited, and continue to exploit, these pastoral resources of grass and water; and this is a fact that has to be explained on historical grounds.

The Turks under Sinan Pasha captured Jannina in 1430, and that part of Epirus which now lies between the Albanian frontier and the town of Arta remained an Ottoman possession until its cession to Greece as recently as 1913. From the earliest period of the occupation a majority of these lands were divided into military fiefs. The fief-holders, tenants-in-chief, in exchange for certain military commitments enjoyed the revenue from a number of taxes including the tithe of one-tenth, but the cultivators, mainly Christians, possessed a right of secure tenure in their land which lapsed only if they did not cultivate it over a period of three years. From time to time, however, and by various methods (often through the expropriation of the rights of peasants who had fallen into debt), fiefs were converted into private properties, chiftliks, on which the villagers became métayers, conceding half the produce of their cultivations to the landowner and possessing no certain rights of tenure which the latter did not choose to recognize.

The villages of Zagori, however, succeeded not only in defending their limited rights as Christian villagers in military fiefs but also in persuading the Turks to grant them other and more important privileges. By the eighteenth century the forty-six villages had developed a confederate alliance. Each village elected a representative to a council which in turn appointed a general intendant for Zagori who was established in Jannina as administrator of the confederation's affairs in liaison with the Ottoman authorities. There were three essential privileges which it was the task of this representative to defend; the right of the confederation to collect and deliver to the imperial government taxes owed by the member villages (other than the dues payable to the fief-holders); the right of Zagori villages to administer their own affairs, to hear cases of civil law between

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
Greece EH1

period. Both in the chiftliks and the extensive monastery lands there were considerable tracts of uncultivated grassland.

Therefore, the very different fortunes of the villagers in the Zagori mountains and those living in the plains, both, alike, encouraged the transhumant sheep economy of the Sarakatsani throughout the nineteenth century and until 1922. The inhabitants of Zagori were primarily interested in the life abroad, not in fully exploiting the pasturage resources of their villages. And the influx of wealth had aroused various pretensions to education and social status which could scarcely be accommodated with a life of transhumant nomadism. In the higher villages, apart from the few animals which it was possible to keep under cover through the winter, the pastures were generally empty, and the villages were willing to rent large tracts of grazing land to wealthy Sarakatsan shepherds who might lead groups of families controlling two or three thousand sheep. This arrangement brought revenue to the village. And it sometimes established relations of patronage through which the villagers were informed about the movements of brigands who periodically descended on their rich houses; or when hostages had been taken shepherds were often the channel of mediation and negotiation. Similarly, in the plains, monasteries and chiftlik owners were equally ready to lease their uncultivated grassland in the winter, often for a nominal payment when the Sarakatsani undertook to graze the sheep of the monastery or chiftlik as well as their own. These conditions of adequate grassland in summer and winter, and in certain respects a complementarity of interests between Zagori villages and the Sarakatsani in the mountains, and in the plains between the Sarakatsani and the owners or administrators of large estates, persisted generally until the period of the first world war.

But in 1922 the military defeat in Asia Minor led in the years which followed to the exchange of population between Greece and Turkey. One of the measures taken by the Government for the re-settlement of refugees was the division of chiftlik and monastery lands into peasant holdings and the building of new villages. By 1927 the old winter pastures of the Zagori Sarakatsani had largely vanished. Some of the richer shepherds had the foresight to buy small properties in the Arta and Preveza

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
Greece EH1

plains and reduced the size of their flocks. Others found small pastures in the area around Paramythia and until 1930 some families, at least, were able to cross the Albanian frontier for their winter grass. In 1944 the flight into Albania of the Muslim villagers of Thesprotia opened new areas of grazing to the Sarakatsani of Zagori, but these, too, are now less extensive after the settlement of refugees from Northern Epirus and the claims of Christian villagers who live in the district. Generally since 1927, when the division of chiftlik lands was substantially effected, the difficulties over winter grazing have grown more acute each year. By 1955 it was seldom possible to find winter grazing for a flock of more than 1,000 sheep in one area. One consequence has been the reduction in the size of the flocks of leading Sarakatsan families. Before 1922 it was not exceptional for a man to own 2,000 sheep; today a flock of 500 is considerable.

The disappearance of winter grassland threatened the basis of transhumant pastoralism not only in Epirus but also in the other provinces of continental Greece. Although they could do little to alter fundamentally the new conditions they had created by the distribution of winter grassland for cultivation, the Government attempted in 1930 to protect the position of the shepherds by a law[22] establishing rights of protected lease (δικαιώματα ἐνοικιοστασίου), so that a shepherd who had enjoyed a grazing lease on a pasture during one winter had the right to return to it in the following autumn (and at a price determined by the Government). There remained, however, various conditions under which such leases might lapse, and the area of available grazing continued to decrease, although now at a less disastrous pace.

After 1922 grazing conditions did not change radically in the Zagori. The temporary emigration of Zagori men to other parts of the Ottoman Empire was replaced by the permanent emigration of whole families of Zagori villagers to the towns and cities of the Greek kingdom. But the grasslands remained to be exploited by the Sarakatsani. In 1938, however, a law[23] was passed by the Government of Metaxas that was to have important

[22] Law 4818 of 14/16 July 1930, 'Concerning the lease of grazing lands'.
[23] Decree 1223 of 3/4 May 1938, 'Concerning the settlement of Pastoralists'.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
Greece EH1

S G 175 198 563 641

consequences. It instructed that the names of semi-nomad shepherds should be added to the citizenship roll of either the summer or the winter village of their grazing grounds. A majority of the Sarakatsani with grazing in the western and central Zagori elected to write their names on the roll of their summer village.[14] The purpose of the central government was to control an untidy and potentially disorderly element in a state based on the village community of settled peasantry. However, the proud villagers of Zagori with their inherited pretensions were deeply dismayed at this act of arbitrary legislation. While their own youth left for the town and city, rights of citizenship in the villages were by law extended to uncivilized and uneducated shepherds. Traditionally the Sarakatsani had built their summer huts on the grazing land they leased. But now possessing the rights of village citizenship, some bought houses in the depopulated village and others began to build their groups of huts on its outskirts. Daily contact between the two communities in these circumstances intensified their traditional antipathy. Yet at the same time the newly acquired local voting rights necessarily integrated the Sarakatsani into the village patronage system, and the villagers' attitude of open contempt forced them slowly but certainly to a growing conformity with village habits at least in their more outward and material aspects.

S [361] G [188]

S 178 494 427 233 [619] [556]

There were also important changes in the forms of co-operation between families within the community. Previously the grazing of areas carrying two or three thousand sheep had been sold each year by Zagori villages to the leading families of Sarakatsani. For these alone had the wealth and experience to carry through the negotiation. Through the lease of this grazing, the head of such a family, the tselingas (τσέλιγγας), also controlled a number of other families who contracted to work with him for the summer or winter period. The nucleus of the group was co-operating families (σμίχτες) often related by kinship or marriage; but a number of unrelated men with few or no animals of their own were also associated as wage shepherds.

[14] However, a village could resist the application if it was able to show that grazing land was not available. Since the pressure on grazing land was greater in the plains, Sarakatsani often had no other choice but to apply for citizenship in a mountain village.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
Greece EH1

S
178
474
233
556

relieved from the various pressures that the tselingas had previously been able to apply, and now entitled to secure grazing rights, were able gradually to increase their flocks or, if they were wage shepherds, to build up a small flock that had not previously existed. At the same time the impossibility of finding considerable tracts of winter grazing forced the rich tselingas to reduce the size of his flocks below the formerly modest limit of a thousand. The conjunction of these trends has led to a more even distribution of wealth in the community.

S
G
178
162
619
621
563

I have indicated some of the geographical and historical conditions that help to explain the presence of the Sarakatsani in Zagori. And I have referred to more recent developments that have introduced important changes in the internal structure of the community and in its relation to the outside world. But these general considerations also emphasize the inherent vulnerability of a transhumant shepherd community in a society of settled villages. Historically, and still today, the village is the important political and social unit in rural Greece. Its elected officials are used by the Greek Government in many matters (as they were by the Ottomans) as the final link in the bureaucratic hierarchy. They are a channel of government and a channel of patronage. Yet many of the Sarakatsani of Zagori still have no secure political rights in the plains where their difficulties are greatest. There, many stand outside the political body of the village, membership of which would grant them each year the right on which their survival as a community depends, the right to graze.